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OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

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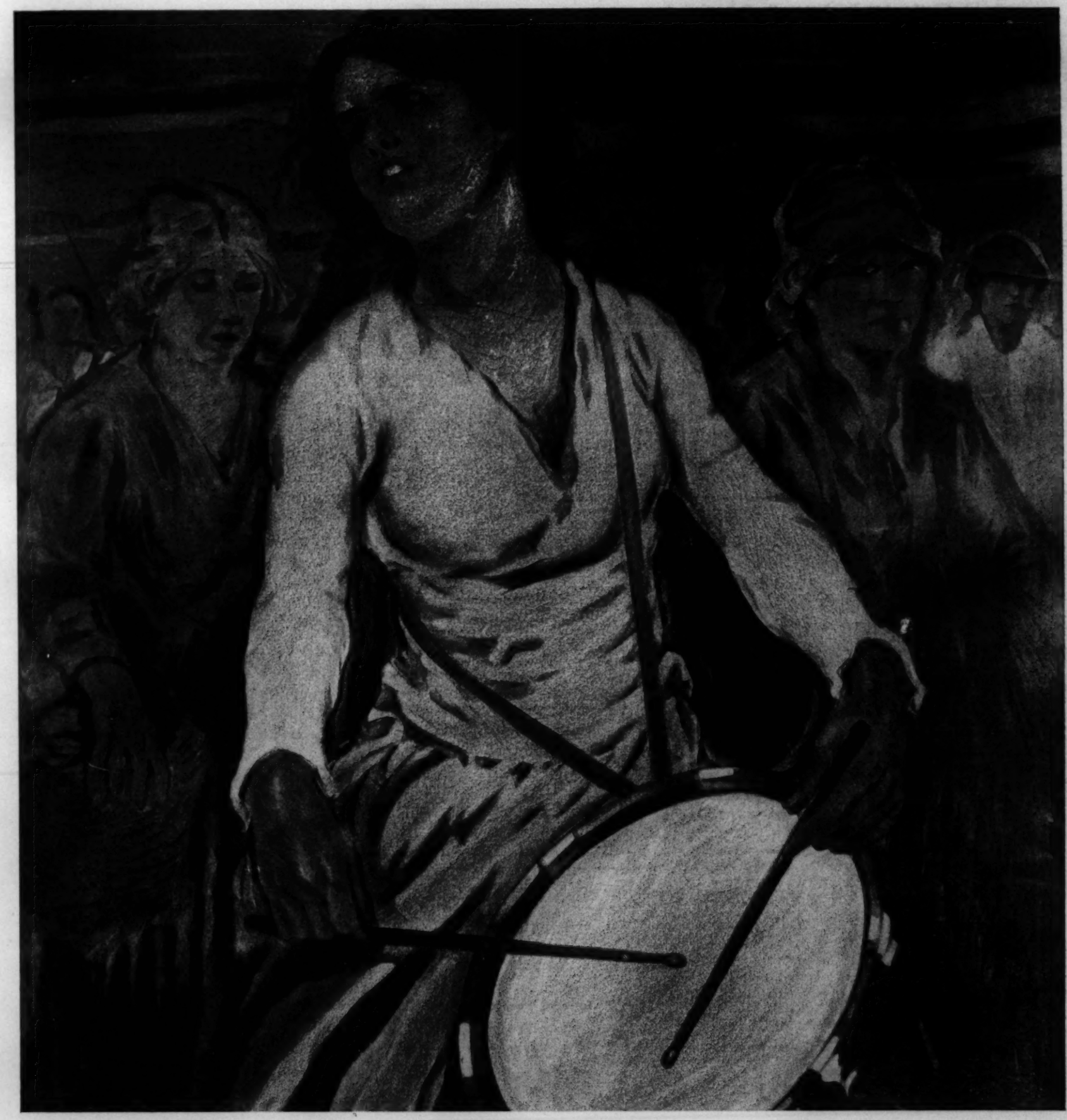

From Paul Honore's War Poster

"The Spirit of Woman Power"

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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Notes of the Week

The Woman's Trade Union League

AT a three day conference the National Woman's Trade Union League made the following declaration of principles:

Compulsory education up to 16 and part-time education up to 18.

We maintain that a "standard of life" ought to mean the certainty of a high school education, and as a beginning, we ask that compulsory education extend to 16 years, and compulsory part-time education extend to 18 years.

Abolition of child labor.

The 8-hour day and the 44-hour week.

One day of rest in seven.

No night work for women.

Equal opportunity for men and women in trade and technical training.

Equal pay for equal work.

Federal and state insurance (without profit) against sickness, accident, industrial injuries and disease, and unemployment, and provision for old age and invalidity pensions.

They determined upon an active campaign for these further immediate ends:

To ask for increased appropriations for state factory departments, and for the appointment of women inspectors in the proportion of one for every 15,000 women wage-earners.

To strengthen, extend and place upon a permanent basis the women-in-industry service in the United States department of labor.

To establish in every state department of labor a woman's bureau, which shall have the administering of the laws touching women and children.

To obtain the representation of women workers upon all administrative boards.

To coordinate and standardize the state and federal employment agencies and forbid all private employment agencies.

To employ the principles of the federal Clayton law in state legislation, so as to abolish the use of the injunction in labor disputes.

To remove all restrictions upon free speech, free press and free assemblage.

Even in These

IN parts of Germany women have already voted. This statement has for its authority cables sent to this country by the Associated Press. On December 16 elections took place in the duchy of Anhalt, resulting in a large majority for the Socialists.

"The increase in the number of votes was due to the lowering of the age limit and the votes of women."

The quotation is from the Associated Press.

It is announced that in the grand duchy of Baden women will be allowed to vote for candidates for the National Assembly at the election which will take place on January 5. All women and men over twenty will be eligible to vote.

French Women Issue Manifesto

ANOTHER of the demands of the French women for the vote which have been occurring frequently for the last year has just been issued by a group of suffrage societies. The women have issued a manifesto demanding that political rights be granted women before the next election.

Women Workers After the War

THE representative of some of the largest munition interests in France, M. Andre Citroen, is predicting a five hour work day for women as a solution of the problem of the women in industry after the war. M. Citroen says nothing concerning wages, but offers his suggestion of the reduction in the length of the working day to solve the question of finding jobs for the returning soldier and the woman who has been filling his place in his absence. He predicts that many of the 500,000 women who are now employed in factories in France will first take a rest of several months while peace conditions are being reestablished. He suggests no way in which these women will support themselves in the meantime. He recommends that they be taken back into industry after their holiday and employed for the short day.

In England the government clerks have not been turned off as they have been here—in great numbers. Reports state that the demand for stenographers, typists, and other office assistants there is not decreasing. Women's organizations, notably the suffrage societies, are watching to see that women are not turned out of employment as they have been by government departments in the United States.

Monument to Finnish Enfranchisement

THE women of Finland have just erected outside the town of Frobjerg, at the foot of the highest point of the Finland Alps, a statue presented to them to commemorate their enfranchisement. About ten thousand people were present at the ceremony of its erection. The inscription on the monument was,

"On man and woman equal rights confer;
Let her serve him; likewise let him serve her."

Holland Still Delaying Suffrage

AT the opening of the new Dutch parliament the Queen in making the speech from the throne did not mention woman suffrage. She omitted the word "gentlemen" when addressing the House since there is one woman representative in the Dutch parliament. When the speech was discussed afterwards a Radical member and a Social-Democratic member questioned the premier concerning his reasons for omitting mention of suffrage. The premier replied that he had mentioned only what seemed to him the most urgent measures and that he did not put suffrage for women in this category. The Dutch leader's point of view is therefore, similar to that of many of our own senators. A bill was nevertheless introduced by Mr. Marchant, a Radical member, to eliminate the word "male" in the Ballot Act. It is proposed that the bill should come into force in January, 1922. The bill will not be up for discussion until spring.

Women Law Clerks and the Government

MISS Anna O'Neill, Class of 1913, Washington College of Law, formerly a clerk on the British Boundary Commission, has been appointed by the Secretary of State as a law clerk in the Solicitor's Office of the State Department. This is the first time such a position has ever been given to a woman lawyer and marks a distinctly new attitude toward the employment of women in legal capacity by the most conservative branch of the Government's Executive Department. Less than one year ago another ambitious woman law clerk was refused this appointment, because of her sex.

A Record of Women's War Work

HISTORY's archives will contain a pictorial record of the work which women have successfully accomplished during the present war.

This survey is being conducted under the woman in industry section of the United States Department of Labor. Employers are asked to co-operate in obtaining photographs of their employees performing men's tasks. Records are also being made of the machinery installed to feminize work hitherto impossible for women to undertake.

It is hoped that from the data thus collected new standards for reducing the danger incidental to women's employment and of promoting better national wage laws can be established.

The Suffrage Conference at Washington

By Annie G. Porritt

Press Chairman Conneeticut Branch, National Woman's Party

Reprint from the Hartford Post

THERE was so much that was interesting and picturesque in connection with the three days of suffrage conference, mass meeting and demonstration at Washington that culminated on Monday afternoon that it is difficult to select one particular aspect. The conference on Saturday, the big suffrage dinner with its rousing speeches, the mass meeting with its pageantry on Sunday and the mingling of women from all parts of the United States in the social gathering on Sunday evening—all these had phases of interest to every suffragist and practically to every woman in the country.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that it was the demonstration on Monday afternoon that was the real heart and kernel of the conference. It was this demonstration also that was most interesting to the country, most picturesque in its details and most impressive in its meaning and in its execution. The news of this demonstration has doubtless already been flashed across the ocean to the President, and President Wilson knows that while the women burnt his words in the fiery cauldron at the base of the Lafayette statue they were at the same time doing their utmost to make good the words he uttered and to carry the democracy that the President has preached so eloquently and impressively into actuality.

It was a heavy overcast sky that greeted the suffragists on Monday morning and before noon there were several rather heavy showers. But it was Queen's weather—as the English used to say when Queen Victoria had arranged a state visit to any British town—and the rain held off during the hours which were of importance to the National Woman's Party. The overcast sky was of no importance, for the ceremonial did not begin until 4:30 when the dusk would have fallen on the winter's day even if there had been brilliant sunshine earlier.

At 4 o'clock the women gathered at headquarters and began to line up with their banners and torches. For each State there was a banner bearer and a torch bearer, and the remaining delegates carried the National Woman's Party tricolors of purple, white and gold.

At 4:30 to the moment, the march to the park was started. There had been no difficulty about a permit. The permit was given the moment it was applied for and when the whole scheme was explained beforehand to the authorities the only comment on it was enthusiastic approval. There were plenty of policemen in attendance but this time they were there to guard the women from disturbance and not to arrest or imprison them.

At the head of the parade walked Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley—one of the many ex-picket prisoners, with a large American flag. Then followed the State delegations with their flags, then the torch bearers one from each State—about 35 states being represented. To bring up the rear came the women with the tricolors, more and more of them, until the crowd grew impatient and felt as if the women would never stop coming and allow the ceremonies to begin.

Mrs. John Rogers of New York made the first speech. There was an immense crowd of people surrounding the women and pressing as close as they could get to the verge on which stood the 36 torch bearers.

Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch
Speaker at the Mass Meeting

Following Mrs. Rogers came Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, standing like a goddess on the base of the statue, and speaking out in her clear, resounding voice, and then came, the ceremonial of the burning of the words of President Wilson—all the words he has ever uttered or written on the subject of freedom and democracy. One after another the torch bearers came up; stated what it was that they were burning and then touching the torch to the paper, cast it into the blazing cauldron where the flames leaped up as though eager to consume it.

Perhaps the most remarkable figure among the torch bearers was the Rev. Olympia Brown, one of the few remaining women of the generation of Susan B. Anthony, and a real pioneer in the suffrage movement. Like Susan B. Anthony herself, Rev. Olympia Brown is a true militant, and having been accustomed all her life to public speaking, she was able to make her voice heard in this final protest against the leaving out of American women when the whole world is being admitted to democracy.

Some of the torch bearers were old and some were young. There were lovely young girls among them, protesting at the threshold of their life. There were aged women, protesting after long years of subjection and disfranchisement. One after another they came up and with large free gestures cast away mere words for which they had no use, demanding reality and not promise. The false position in which President Wilson is placed on going abroad on behalf of world democracy while the United States lags far behind most of the nations of Europe in regard to real democracy was emphasized not only by the speeches but by the symbolic burning of words—words—words.

The last speaker was Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles of Delaware, probably the most distinguished Democrat in the National Woman's Party. Mrs. Hilles' father, Hon. Thomas Bayard, was Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Cleveland and Ambassador to England. Mrs. Hilles emphasized the fact that the National Woman's Party acted not in anger or unkindness, but with the full determination to put content in the words—or to have nothing to do with them.

PRECEDING the demonstration there was a great mass meeting of the National Woman's Party, and the theatre was filled from floor to ceiling, until it was very difficult for the ushers to find seats for people arriving well ahead of the time when the meeting was advertised to begin. Women conducted the meeting and women made the speeches, and the men and women in the audience listened and applauded until at times the audience seemed to go wild with enthusiasm.

The meeting was opened by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont. Mrs. Belmont is not an orator. She usually reads her speeches. But the speeches are worth reading. They are like diamonds, compact but not extensive, brilliant with many facets and flashes of light of color from every one of them. When Mrs. Belmont concluded she handed the meeting over to Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett of Hartford, who told the audience the purpose of the meeting and then introduced Miss Maud Younger, the head of the National Woman's Party lobby at Washington.

Miss Younger's speech was a model. In fact, each of the speakers of the afternoon was

as nearly perfect for the exact work that had been given her to do as could be imagined. The meeting went with a swing and a movement that carried everyone along with it. Nobody spoke too long. Nobody gave the audience a chance of getting bored. Each did excellently in her own place and each was completely and entirely different from all the others.

It was Miss Younger's business to tell the story of the National Woman's Party work with the Senate since the amendment was passed by the House of Representatives in January. At that time the amendment lacked 11 votes in the Senate of the necessary two-thirds majority, and the National Woman's Party set out to get those votes. The story as told by Miss Younger reminded the audience of the "Ten Little Nigger Boys," and ten of the opponents had surely been bowled over—some by means of pressure from their constituents brought to bear through campaigns in their States; some by pressure from their party, and some through the influence of President Wilson. Now only one vote more is needed and it is to get this vote that the meeting was called and an appeal made for help and money.

After Miss Younger's speech Mrs. Bennett appealed for gifts and pledges. The National Woman's Party had set $50,000 as the sum required for the campaign, and within half an hour fifty thousand and a few hundred dollars were either pledged or given. Mrs. Bennett began by asking for pledges from State branches, and Connecticut responded with the gift of a Liberty Bond for $1,000. Other states gave similar amounts, some a little more and some a little less but New York and Pennsylvania came forward in emulation which quickly pushed up the figures.

After the State pledges came individual gifts ranging from $1,000 from Mrs. Belmont to many pledges of $10, $5 and $2.50. The pledge that called forth the most hearty applause, however, was one announced from the floor by Miss Hazel Hunkins, who was acting as one of the ushers. Miss Hazel Hunkins was one of the women arrested last August for attempting a demonstration in Lafayette Park and it was even rumored by the antis that she had inflicted some injury on the policeman who took her prisoner. The pledge that she announced, looking a little shy and very pretty, as she stood trying to get the attention of the chairman was "$1 from the policeman who arrested me last August."

After the money raising the next speaker was Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, probably the finest speaker, man or woman, on the platform today. The finished beauty of her diction, the eloquent delivery, the tremendous emotional appeal, captured the audience, who at the end of her speech simply went wild and insisted on her recognizing their encore. Last of all, came Miss Lucy Burns, turning the emotion and the enthusiasm into immediate action by calling for volunteers for the next day's demonstration and explaining exactly what steps the National Woman's Party was contemplating in order to win the last remaining vote in the Senate. It would have been impossible to arrange or balance a program more perfectly.

Picturesqueness and color were given to the stage and a more festive feeling to the occasion by a pageant of free women which took place shortly after the opening of the meeting. A parade of women from the countries where women vote circled around the hall carrying the national flags, the women in many cases wearing the national costume. Following these women were the American women who have this year been imprisoned for asking for their enfranchisement by means of public meetings or demonstrations. The whole parade filed on to the platform, and as the ex-prisoners passed Mrs. Bennett, the chairman, she gave to each a prison pin which the National Woman's Party has given to all the women who have gone to jail to aid forward its movement.

It was really very impressive—the freewomen of Europe, given the vote by their men for the share they have taken in the responsibilities and labors in the war, wherein they have shown themselves fit and worthy of equal liberties; the subject women of America, receiving a prison-gate pin as a symbol of the imprisonment that the men of their country had handed out to them when they dared to ask for liberty.

The Demonstration

By Kate Heffelfinger

ON December 16, four hundred women came together in Washington from places scattered from the eastern to the western coast, places in number almost equal to the number of women. They determined on a common form of expressing why they had come. It must illustrate, they knew, what had urged them together. All the women could not come whose diverse interests merge in desire for a democratic government.

These women met and marched to the statue of Lafayette at the hour when the President of the United States was received by France; received as the head of a government represented as fruitful of democracy so mature that its spawn seeks lodgment across the sea.

People in the Capital who last August saw women put in prison for marching, for holding orderly suffrage meetings at this French nobleman's statue and who saw, in the late autumn, drunken policemen perfecting upon American suffragists the policeman arts of arm twisting and tripping and throwing, at the time when the women were appealing to "willful senators" to make America a democracy—these people saw once more the procession of banner bearing women pass an empty White House at the close of a winter day. Saw them pass together before they scatterd home—saw them pause, restive under the bitter knowledge that officially unrepresented in the government they live beside of, and give their best to, they must represent themselves.

There were the women in that line who came to know, first, by intellect that democracy is needed here, and there were the women who learned, first, through poverty. Old and new Americans of both these types who, throughout the nation, represent each other.

Swinging along the avenue in the step of order but with fired torches in the lead they kept coming and coming in silence, massing in silence. Above them on the tall poles billowing, mixing thick in the wind, stripes of white and ochre and the purple of sorrow, with torch light flaring through. Then high, like a genius of the time and place, a voice sang against the wind—live, beating sound at the edge of the sleeping park—

For woman, ah, woman is marching,
Her soul cries out to be free.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Her cry, it shall be heard
. . . . . .
The right, the right,
Woman demands her right to liberty!

The right this singer's sister died serving seemed living on. At the feet of the Marquis that night there burned a fire that was fed as women one by one burned words the President has, at various times, spoken opportunely and not for them.

The heads of many women bent above the flames were white. It appeared as each did this, unhastely, with distinctly spoken words, that she did it with a discontent sprung from thoughtful courage.

One of these could say—"I have fought for liberty for seventy years and I protest against the Presidents' leaving America with this old fight here unwon."

Again and again have the women begun and they will begin again till this old fight is won. One wonders if it must be done through added bitterness.

"We pledge in peace by farm and town
The Queen they served in war,
And fire the beacons up and down
The land they perished for."

Working With the State Legislatures

AS a part of the campaign to secure the passage of the amendment at this session of Congress, an intensive drive is being made upon state legislatures for resolutions and petitions calling upon United States Senators to vote for the amendment. The immediate necessity of such work is evident from an examination of the accompanying table showing the duration of legislatures meeting in 1919. Not only must the amendment receive the requisite number of votes in the Senate, but it must also be ratified by two-thirds of the legislatures before their adjournment.

While a campaign is being conducted in every state for action from the legislature, an especial drive is being made in New Hampshire since Senator Moses from that state has not yet declared his position on suffrage. Already a petition addressed to him has been secured from a majority of the 429 members-elect of the New Hampshire Legislature. Not content with the petition, an effort will also be made to obtain official action by the legislature through a resolution asking Senator Moses to vote for the amendment. Miss Doris Stevens, national legislative chairman of the Woman's Party, and five national organizers, Miss Elsie Hill, Miss Clara Louise Rowe, Miss Catherine Flanagan, Miss Margaret Whittemore and Miss Bertha Arnold are in Concord engaged in the campaign to secure such a resolution.

Resolutions calling upon the Senate to pass the amendment and upon their Senators to vote for it have already gone through the legislatures of Rhode Island, New York, North Dakota, South Dakota, Arizona and Montana, and petitions asking similar action have been signed by a large proportion of the members of the legislatures in Florida, Texas, Delaware, Virginia, New Hampshire and Maryland.

Miss Anita Pollitzer, national organizer of the Woman's Party, who has had charge of the Florida petition, has returned to that state to secure additional signatures from members of the legislature who have not yet been interviewed. Miss Vivian Pierce, another national organizer of the Woman's Party, is collecting signatures to a petition from the members of the legislature of Louisiana, addressed to Senator Gay.

In Idaho, members of the Woman's Party are concentrating on obtaining a resolution from the legislature, urging Senator Borah to retreat from his untenable position. Preparations for a similar campaign upon Senator Shields, through action of the Tennessee legislature, were completed this week by Miss Sue White, Tennessee State Chairman, at a conference held at the National Headquarters in Washington. Miss Lucy Branham, national organizer of the Woman's Party, will assist the Tennesseee branch in its legislative campaign.

Mrs. Will Hardy, member of the National Advisory Council of the Woman's Party, has made preparations for obtaining the passage of a similar resolution by the Nebraska legislature, upon its convening in January, in the hope of thereby winning the vote of Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, who has steadfastly opposed the amendment.

The Woman's Party of Maine will make another effort to obtain the vote of Senator Hale by an appeal to the Maine legislature. Governor Milliken, of Maine, has promised his cooperation in securing the passage of a resolution by the legislature, endorsing the national amendment.

Other states whose legislatures meet in January, and who have one or both senators at present opposed to the amendment, are Massachusetts, Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina and Vermont.

Legislatures Meeting in 1919

Alabama	Convenes	Jan.	Lasts 40 days	Quadrennial
Arizona	"	Jan.	" 60 "	Biennial
Arkansas	"	Jan.	" 60 "	"
California	"	Jan.	No Limit	"
Colorado	"	Jan.	Lasts 90 days	"
Connecticut	"	Jan.	No Limit	"
Delaware	"	Jan.	Lasts 60 days	"
Georgia	"	June	" 50 "	Annual
Florida	"	April	" 60 "	Biennial
Idaho	"	Jan.	" 60 "	"
Illinois	"	Jan.	No Limit	"
Indiana	"	Jan.	Lasts 61 days	"
Iowa	"	Jan.	No Limit	"
Kansas	"	Jan.	Lasts 60 days	"
Maine	"	Jan.	" 90 "	"
Massachusetts	"	Jan.	No Limit	Annual
Michigan	"	Jan.	No Limit	Biennial
Minnesota	"	Jan.	Lasts 90 days	"
Missouri	"	Jan.	" 70 "	"
Montana	"	Jan.	" 60 "	"
Nebraska	"	Jan.	" 60 "	"
Nevada	"	Jan.	" 60 "	"
New Hampshire	"	Jan.	No Limit	"
New Jersey	"	Jan.	No Limit	Annual
New Mexico	"	Jan.	Lasts 60 days	Biennial
New York	"	Jan.	No Limit	Annual
North Carolina	"	Jan.	Lasts 60 days	Biennial
North Dakota	"	Jan.	" 60 "	"
Ohio	"	Jan.	No Limit	"
Oklahoma	"	Jan.	Lasts 60 days	"
Oregon	"	Jan.	" 40 "days	"
Pennsylvania	"	Jan.	No Limit	"
Rhode Island	"	Jan.	60 days	Annual
South Carolina	"	Jan.	40 days	Biennial
South Dakota	"	Jan.	60 days	"
Tennessee	"	Jan.	75 days	"
Texas	"	Jan.	60 days	"
Utah	"	Jan.	60 days	"
Vermont	"	Jan.	No Limit	"
Washington	"	Jan.	60 days	"
West Virginia	"	Jan.	45 days	"
Wisconsin	"	Jan.	No Limit	"
Wyoming	"	Jan.	40 days	"

The Vote of Senator Moses

By Betty Gram

National Organizer of the Womans' Party

WE emerge from New Hampshire with two humanitarian resolutions on our lips, eagerly awaiting expression on New Year's Day. The first is: Resolved, Never to refuse entrance to a petition bearer who knocks at our doors. The second is: Resolved, Never to forget to offer food and warmth to any wanderer who crosses our threshhold.

When George H. Moses made the demand that a majority of signatures of representatives to the New Hampshire Legislature be obtained before committing himself on the federal suffrage amendment, he smiled; he may have believed that he was "hanging the grapes too high." Little did he know that his proposition was being made to a resolute organization—one whose leaders know no bounds, whose forces recognize no limitations. To reach 429 men in homes that extended all the way from the Canadian border to Massachusetts and from Vermont to Maine, in the season when New Hampshire is shivering under a blanket of heavy snow, and cattle and men are seeking shelter from blustering blizzards was the demand put before us.

With petition in hand bearing the simple but well known words, "We, the undersigned, urge you to vote and work for the immediate passage of the National Suffrage Amendment," we sallied forth, Miss Rowe going into one part of the state and I into the other. On all sides we heard, "It can't be done," "Sentiment in this state is against suffrage." "You will never be able to get a majority of names to such a petition." It was indeed a cheerful word to carry with us as we parted our ways and reluctantly bade each other farewell at Concord. We boarded the dingy coaches pulled by last century's engines, taking us in opposite directions to unknown lands.

MY first stop was a small New England village in the heart of western New Hampshire hills. Inquiring at the only drug store in town, I found that the first man on my list lived three miles east. I started out—over country roads, through fields of soft snow, over a hill and through a cemetery to a large barn-like building in which stood the village smithy himself. Even the tree was there, spreading with snow instead of chestnuts. Leaning over the uplifted foot of a large horse, fearlessly branding his foot with a glowing iron, stood the man I must see. He looked so strong, so brave, but alas, thought I, "What is in his heart about suffrage? Will he sign a petition asking that American women be given their freedom? Will he realize how vital his word is at this minute?"

Then he looked up, not a little startled, perhaps, to see a woman standing in line with the horses, waiting patiently her turn. He left his work, listened, and then replied.

"Oh, No Ma'am. I aint never signed nothin', never believed in signin' nothin', and aint never goin' to sign any of these documints I don't know nothin' about."

"Oh, but kind sir," I interrupted, "don't you see that all over the world women are being given a voice in their own government. Won't you help American women obtain this right?"

Whereupon, my host, wiping his hands on his leather apron and removing the soot from his silver rimmed spectacles, replied, "Well—I never had nothin' agin' the womin folks. Guess they know as much 'bout things as I do. Gimme the sheet."

"THE first signature was obtained; the long white page was beginning to speak. Joyfully I ran on to the next man. Back over the hill, through the snow, over the cemetery, through the village again to the opposite side was the shoe factory wherein he worked. Would he be a simple shoe stitcher, or a difficult dictator? Somehow I hoped he would be the first. I had heard that factory owners in New Hampshire were rich and autocratic, and I was afraid. One could never tell about these names; some sounded grand and weren't, others sounded un-grand and were. I went on. Through an office, up an elevator, through rows and rows of boxes to a well lighted room in the back of the building, was the New Hampshire legislator. How different it all was. Ushered through a frosted glass door bearing a signature and the word "private" in large black letters I confronted him.

He was a stern grey-haired man in well tailored clothes, perusing letters before a mahogany roll top desk. I sat down, not a little fearful, for I remembered that a little r, standing for Republican preceded his name on my list, and I trembled lest like Moses, he would "prefer not to state." To my astonishment after telling my story, he said, "I am only too glad to sign your petition. It is a disgrace that our Senator has inflicted this demand on you. New Hampshire women want suffrage, as do all courageous American women, and they shall have it. What more can I do for you?" Then followed a modest request with the inevitable response, and I came out the happy possesor of another signature for Moses, and another contribution for the cause.

"Can it be that all these men are suffragists," I thought, and encouraged I went on my way. Four of the five men in that little district signed, but the day was done and only five men had been seen. At that rate it would take six months to see all the members-elect to the New Hampshire Legislature, the largest legislative body in the United States. The task seemed impossible and immediately an S. O. S. call was sent to Washington and plans for recruiting the aid of local suffragists were made. While negotiations were going on with the National Republican and Democratic leaders and local party committees, Miss Rowe and I continued our man to man canvass.

To our chagrin, we found that all the men were not so sympathetic to our cause as the first few we had seen. One large red-haired, red-eyed gentleman, who now sits all day behind a white counter doling out bits of beverages in bottles bearing drug labels instead of standing behind a red counter doling out beverages in small glasses as in the days when New Hampshire knew stores with stain glass, swinging doors and brass railings, turned livid white when asked to sign.

"Women vote? Bah! What right have women in politics? They don't know anything; they should stay in their kitchens and wash their husband's clothes. Women Voting? Oh, rot!" And he waved his long freckled hands in the air close to my face. "I voted 'No' in the last Legislature and I'll vote 'No' again. I'll speak against it, too, I will. I'll do all in my power to keep women from voting. Don't you know we want license in New Hampshire again?" Then I knew, and with pity in my heart, I turned and went on my weary way.

The next man signed. He was a quiet intelligent citizen who was going to the legislature to pass laws that he knew would benefit his state and country. And so it went, day after day over countless miles to countless personalities. Sometimes it seemed that one could not go on, days when the hour of eight would roll around with no dinner in sight and with no lunch to remember, waiting for hours in a country postoffice for a resident to return from a nearby farmer's auction sale. Days when hunger and cold almost seemed to make one give up and board the trains whistling in the distance. But that voice that has rung in our ears since the day Susan B. Anthony turned over her task to us kept reverberating. "One more name to the end, one more step to the goal." And the train went rumbling by with four long hours to the next one. Sometimes the waiting meant a name, and sometimes it didn't, but the chance was taken.

WITH the passing days the petition grew. Local women sent in names of nearby neighbors. Letters and telephone mes-

sages were sent to all the members-elect in every part of the state. State Chairmen urged every man of their respective parties to sign. We were beginning to see the end. At a meeting of the State grange at Rochester, a number of signatures were obtained. Soon the whole state was buzzing with suffrage talk and ere long we found that instead of sentiment in New Hampshire being against suffrage as Mr. Moses had thought, it was decidedly in favor, and we found it to be the popular thing to follow the leader and urge the enfranchisement of women. The governor-elect signed the petition; United States Congressmen signed the petition; prominent men running for Speaker of the House signed the petition: "rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief, doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief," signed; a majority of both Republican and Democratic members signed, and a majority of both Houses signed, making our petition an overwhelming majority. Indeed was it a representative group of names and a universal appeal. With gratitude we submit the mandate, "the task is done, the battle won."

What will you do now, Mr. Moses?

Governors Ask Senate to Act on Suffrage

THE tenth annual Conference of the Governors of the forty-eight states of the Union was held at Annapolis, December 16-18, with thirty-four Governors or Governors-elect in attendance. The officers of the Woman's Party representing fourteen states appeared at the historic old State House in Annapolis where the sessions of the Governors' Conference were held in order to acquaint the Governors with the latest news in regard to the national suffrage amendment, and to appeal to them for their active support in securing the one vote needed to pass this amendment through the Senate.

Much interest and enthusiasm were shown by many of the Governors present, and definite promises of help were given for the ratification campaign as well as for the campaign on the Senate. Every Governor who attended was interviewed by the suffragists, who presented the following petition for signatures:

"We, the undersigned, Governors of the several states of the Union, do hereby call upon the Senate of the United States to pass the suffrage amendment immediately."

This petition received the signatures of:

Governor J. A. Burnquist, of Minnesota,
Governor-elect Henry J. Allen, of Kansas,
Governor S. R. Mckelvie, of Nebraska,
Governor M. G. Brumbaugh, of Pennsylvania,
Governor Lyn Frazier, of North Dakota,
Governor John G. Townsend, of Delaware,
Governor E. D. Boyle, of Nevada,
Governor-elect Thomas E. Campbell, of Arizona,
Governor Arthur Capper, of Kansas,
Governor-elect D. W. Davis, of Idaho,
Governor George W. Hunt, of Arizona,
Governor W. E. Lindsey, of New Mexico,
Governor C. E. Milliken of Maine,
and Governor Frank L. Houx, of Wyoming.

IN addition to the men who signed the petition, several Governors announced their willingness to work for the passage of the amendment by the Senate, but were not willing to sign their names to a petition. A number of the Governors expressed their intention to work with their legislatures in an effort to have them go on record in favor of the national amendment, and have them call upon the Senate to act immediately.

Among the statements given out by the Governors for the press was one from Governor Harding, of Iowa, Republican, who had not signed the petition. He said:

"It seems passing strange that a party that bears the name Democratic should be so Bourbon.

"Speaking as a Republican it only confirms what I have always thought—that the Democrats do not practice Democratic ideals, but preach them only for the purpose of getting the right to control the government autocratically. It must cause the Allies of Europe a great deal of merriment to have the President who is so extremely partisan go to Europe to ask for Democratic ideals when he is leaving a Democratic country practicing autocracy at least a century old."

Governor Boyle, of Nevada, said:

"Nevada has enjoyed the effects of direct participation by women in her public affairs for four years. With us the woman voter has contributed real poise to the government and has done this with no impairment of her inherent and admirable domestic character.

"Without hesitancy I say that my state eagerly awaits an opportunity through its legislature to ratify the federal amendment providing for such justice as we have meted our women, to aid women throughout the nation."

Governor James P. Goodrich, of Indiana, Republican, said:

"I will do all in my power to help the Republicans put the suffrage amendment through."

Governor Stewart, of Montana, stated:

"I favor the immediate passage of the suffrage amendment through the United States Senate. Woman suffrage is bound to come in time and the sooner the better."

Governor W. E. Lindsey, of New Mexico, said:

"As a matter of justice I feel that full enfranchisement should be granted to women at once so that the coming legislatures may have an opportunity to ratify."

Governor Frazier, of North Dakota, replied:

"Woman suffrage is fundamentally just and right. Feeling this I believe the time has come for all progressive peoples to end the long delay and urge the immediate passage of the federal suffrage amendment."

A poll of the incoming and re-elected governors showed that thirty-seven out of forty-eight governors were strong supporters of suffrage.

MUCH impatience was expressed on all sides by the governors at the Conference at the injustice of the delay by the United States Senate in granting justice to American women.

Secretary Lane spoke to the Governors on reconstruction problems and the need of intense organizations of women as well as of men to take care of the grave problems now confronting us. He paid a high tribute to the work women have done for the war, but though he talked about the freedom of the Czecho-Slavs, the Ukranians, and other peoples, he neglected to mention the fact that the women of America should be included in the "democracy of the world." The suffragists presented a note to the Secretary protesting against his appeal for freedom for all peoples except American women.

Among the suffragists who attended the Conference were:

Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, member of the National Executive Committee of the Woman's Party; the Reverend Olympia Brown, of Wisconsin, member of the National Advisory Council; Mrs. John Jay White, of Washington, and New York; Miss Sue S. White, of Nashville, Tennessee, chairman of the Tennessee Branch; Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore, of Detroit, National Organizer of the Woman's Party; Miss Lucy Branham, of Baltimore, National Organizer; Miss Doris Stevens, of Nebraska, member of the National Executive Committee; Mrs. A. R. Colvin, of St. Paul, chairman of the Minnesota Branch; Miss Maud Younger, of San Francisco, lobby chairman; Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe, of Austin, Texas, chairman of the Texas Branch; Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, of Norwalk, Connecticut; Miss Anita Pollitzer, of Charleston, South Carolina, Press Chairman of the South Carolina Branch; and Miss Mary Dubrow, of Passaic, New Jersey, Miss Betty Gram, of Portland, Oregon, and Miss Catherine Flanagan, of Hartford, Conn., National Organizers of the Woman's Party.

The President Could Have—

Speech by Helena Hill Weed at the Advisory Council Conference

THE ability of President Wilson to win the ardent support of reformers and at the same time play politics, with their legislation and defeat its accomplishment—thus retaining the good-will of the reactionaries while posing as a liberal—was never more clearly shown than in his dealings with the federal suffrage amendment.

Ever since he announced himself as converted to its support, in January, 1918, he has succeeded in taking such a public stand, by flawless argument and gems of rhetorical composition, as has led not only all the opposing and indifferent groups but actually an amazingly large number of working suffragists to believe that at last he is a real worker for the amendment.

The only ones he has been unable to deceive are those who understand the legislative machinery through which political professions and campaign promises are enacted into living laws. They know that President Wilson not only has not kept his promises to help in every possible way but that he has actually worked politically against the success of the amendment, for his own political gain. They point to the political history of the past six months in proof of their assertions, and in answer to the wearisome, reiterated question "Why do you still worry the President? He is your best friend. He has done everything he possibly could for you."

LAST July he had the opportunity to win for the amendment one of the two needed votes in the Senate. Senator Shields was running for the nomination in the Democratic primaries in Tennessee, on the sole platform that he was supporting the President absolutely on all war measures. At that time Senator Shields refused to declare his stand on the amendment. The President wrote a note (a very good note too—for publicity purposes) to show how hard he was working for the amendment, but Senator Shields refused to support the request of the President and come out for the amendment. He said he would not take a stand until the question came up in the Senate. Senator Shields' opponent for the Democratic nomination had also pledged his support to President Wilson on all war measures and had, in addition, pledged himself to vote for the federal amendment.

The Woman's Party urged the President to take the situation over the head of Senator Shields to the voters of Tennessee, (as he had done in the case of Senator Vardaman, Senator Hardwick, Representative Slayden and other men who had differed with him on measures that he had deemed vital) and tell them that Senator Shields was refusing to support this great measure of fundamental democracy which he was demanding as a necessary war measure. But the President refused to do it. We know that if the President had been willing to do as much for suffrage as he had done for his own personal interests in the other senatorial elections in which he took an active political part, he would have won another vote. Senator Shields would then have been obliged either to declare for the amendment or else be published as refusing to stand by the President on a war measure, and so have been defeated, as were the others whom the President opposed. But the fact was that, in spite of Senator Shields' refusal to support him, President Wilson used all his channels of publicity to make it appear that he was doing everything to gain Senator Shields' support of suffrage, and at the same time he absolutely refused to use a grain of the vast political power which he possessed, and which he was using against other senators who had differed with him on far less important measures, to win Senator Shields' vote.

LATER, in the November elections, President Wilson showed the same unfriendliness to the cause of suffrage. He had said to a group of protesting Democratic women on September 16, "I have endeavored to assist you in every way in my power" (this was **after** he had refused to make the issue in the case of Senator Shields!) "and I shall continue to do so!" In spite of this promise, a promise which served to allay much of the growing opposition among Democratic women and keep them in line for the campaign, the President deliberately went to the electorate demanding the defeat of some of the strongest supporters of the amendment and demanding the election of opponents of women's freedom in their places, simply because they were Democrats.

The President's appeal to the country to return a Democratic Congress, regardless of the position of Democratic candidates on any or all vital measures, proved not only to suffragists but to the country at large that Mr. Wilson valued political power, as the leader of the party in power, far more than he valued the success of suffrage. The secret of his demand for a Democratic Congress lies in the fact that if the Democratic Party were in control he, as leader of the party in power, could enforce any legislation he wanted, regardless of the individual opinion of members of either house of Congress, through the power of party and organization and caucus.

Suffragists demand the passage of the amendment and hold the President personally responsible for its failure, for he, by his demand for a Democratic Congress recognized his own absolute power, as his party leader, and practically pledged himself to the country to put through the measures he supported (regardless of the individual opinion of Democrats) if given the party power to do it.

UNDER the organization of the Democratic Party in Congress a certain number of members in the House or in the Senate can demand a party caucus on any question and, if a majority of the members of the party present at that caucus vote to make any issue a party measure, every member of the party is obliged to vote for the measure on the floor, regardless of his personal beliefs, or else to "bolt the caucus," which means his political ruin if the party leader so chooses. The Republican Party does not caucus on legislative questions, so no such power would be in the hands of a Republican President or Congress, but this power over legislation does lie in the hands of the Democratic party leaders.

A notable instance of its use was in August, 1916, when President Wilson forced the child labor bill through an adverse Senate by the use of exactly this party power. The bill had come from the House a strictly Republican bill, with the Republicans almost unanimous in its favor and the opposition almost solidly Democratic, both in committee and in the vote on the floor. In the Senate the same situation prevailed, with a majority of the Senate Democrats opposed to the bill. The party had even caucused on the bill and by party vote had agreed not to permit it to come to a vote. More than that, the President himself was a strong opponent of the child labor bill as a federal measure, on constitutional grounds. But shortly before Congress adjourned it is said that his campaign leaders came to him and said that the country demanded favorable action on this bill, and told him that if the Democratic Party went into the election with the responsibility for the defeat of this measure on them it would seriously jeopardize his re-election. So, in spite of his own strong opposition to the federal child labor bill, in spite of the tremendous opposition in his own party, in spite of the caucus vote against it, the President went to his office in the Senate the last week of the Congress, called opposing Democratic Senators to him, cracked the party whip, demanded a reconvening of the caucus and a favorable vote purely in order, apparently, to secure his own re-election, and the return of his party at the polls. So powerful was his action that the favorable caucus was secured and the bill passed in the Senate, on August 8, only eight Senators daring to vote against the President's demand on its final passage.

If the President could force this issue with entire propriety—and no Democrat has ever questioned his right to act as he did—how much simpler would be his task if he chose to use his great power as party leader to win the success of freedom for his countrywomen.

HE says he believes in the federal suffrage amendment. A majority of his party are supporters of it, and he still has control of the Senate. Five-sixths of the Republicans are ready to vote favorably. If President Wilson is sincere in his promise that he would do everything he could to secure its passage he would have the small number of needed Democrats call a caucus of the Democratic members of the Senate, and make the question of political freedom and self-government for twenty million disfranchised American women a party measure, and force it through the Senate as he has every other measure for whose success he cared either on principle or for his own political advantage. Instead, on leaving for Europe to win self-government and justice for Poles and Slovacs and Huns he called his leaders to him, made out the party program to be followed in his absence, threw a verbal bouquet at American women who had been struggling seventy years for freedom, and left without making the passage of the federal suffrage amendment a part of his party's program.

A word from him today, "by cable, letter or courier," would secure a caucus on this issue and a favorable vote—for if senators were certain that he meant what he said in demanding its passage, and were sure he would use his political power against any who dared oppose him, they would not dare to block it.

Until the President has ceased to give political support to our opponents, and has used his full political powers on our behalf, we must continue to brand as insincere and deliberately hypocritical his unqualified statement that he had endeavored to assist the measure in every way in his power, and would continue to do so.

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, Etc.. by the Act of Congress of August 23, 1912, of the Suffragist, Published Weekly at Washington, D. C.

Before me, a notary, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Elizabeth Kalb, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the business manager of The Suffragist and that the following, is to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, National Woman's Party, Washington, D. C. Editor, Clara Wold. Business manager, Elizabeth Kalb.

2. That the owners are: National Woman's Party, Executive Committee; Miss Alice Paul, N. J., Chairman; Miss Mabel Vernon, Nev., Secretary; Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, Md., Treas.; Mrs. Robert Baker, D. C.; Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, N. Y.; Mrs. John Winters Branhan, N. Y.; Miss Lucy Burns, N. Y.; Mrs. Gilson Gardner, D. C.; Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, Conn.; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Del.; Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Md.; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Pa.; Miss Doris Stevens, Neb.; Miss Maud Younger, Cal.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amounts of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is 5,000.

Elizabeth Kalb.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of November, 1918.

(Seal) James C. Dulin.

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Membership Fees	3.75
Total collected by National Headquarters	2,927.65
Previously acknowledged in The Suffragist	375,868 95
Total collected by National Headquarters through Dec. 12, 1918	378,796.60
Total collected by Branches through Dec. 12, 1918	71,698.52
Grand Total	450,495.12
Deduction:	
Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	4,181.50
Grand Net Total	$446,313.62

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